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W. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.  
VOL. XVI.—NO. 18.  
REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

IN the last number of the Liberator, we laid before our readers the strong and excellent Protest against American Slavery, signed by the formidable number of THREE HUNDRED AND THREE

Reasons for not signing the Protest.  
The language of the Resolution which originated the Protest in reference to the duty of the Committee, was, "They shall publish the Protest and Signatures, in— They shall publish the Protest and Signatures, in— They shall publish the Protest and Signatures, in—"

Two brief letters will now be given entire:  
I decline. My reasons are, to be brief—  
1. Because Slavery existed in the days of the Patriarchs and Prophets.  
2. Because it is sanctioned in the Old Testament.  
3. Because it is nowhere condemned in the Bible.  
4. Because, "what God reveals, his quite enough to know."

THE LIBERATOR.  
LETTERS FROM HENRY C. WRIGHT.  
VIEWS OF THE 'COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND THE AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'  
NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!  
HAWICK, TEVIOTDALE, MARCH 8, 1846.  
DEAR FRIEND:  
It is a first day. I stay in my house till 7—then I must go and lecture on Non-Resistance, though so hoarse and sore in my lungs, by reason of a cold, that I can hardly speak aloud. This town has 6000 inhabitants—lives on the river Teviot, in Teviotdale, 50 miles south of Edinburgh, 30 miles from the junction of the Teviot and Tweed, and near the border between England and Scotland. I lecture here four times—twice on Slavery and Free Church. I can spend this day no better than to copy for you the following. It speaks for itself.

DEAR MR. WRIGHT:  
I have read your pamphlet on the 'DISSOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN UNION.' So hideous does slavery appear, as there represented, and so diabolical are the sentiments of men whom I have hitherto been accustomed to view as the noble, the wise, and the good of the world, the very 'salt of the earth,' and so amazingly absurd and inconsistent the vauntings of American republicanism and liberty, while one sixth of the population is held in the most abject slavery by their own vaunters and boasters of freedom, that I really know not what to think—such has been the perturbation of mind which the revelations of the pamphlet have occasioned within me. The American people and Constitution seem to me to form the most perfect anomaly which history has ever recorded. How slavery can find any sympathy in those who have declared so much about independence and freedom is to me incomprehensible. How piety can exist and revivals of religion take place amid such awful corruption and inhumanity, is really incredible. But for slavery, I believe America might be the first nation on the earth; but for slavery, I believe her reformatory influence might be felt and obeyed by every civilized power; but for slavery, I believe our fellow men in America might prove the most triumphant harbingers, and the most successful and undaunted laborers in the cause of morals and religion. Slavery is the bane—the worm of corruption at the root of the social system of America, and until it is removed, it is utterly impossible that that country can make any advancement.

It grieves me to think that men, holding the office of Christian ministers, should give the wicked cause to praise them, and be found associated with the vilest of human kind. But, however trying to my feelings it may be to abandon as the most savage beings, men who rank high as senators, judges, doctors of divinity, and the like, yet the truth must be spoken. I would not, dare not, keep back one single iota of the truth.  
I pronounce slavery wrong, impious, brutalizing, damnable. With circumstances I have thought to do. Let every man act as in the sight of God, and there will be no supposed mitigating circumstances in the case. Those men are blind, willingly and knowingly blind, who affirm the impossibility or impracticability of abolition. The method of acting with slavery should be the same as was and is done with drunkenness, drunkards, and drunkard-makers. Social custom was strong for the latter; but some one had to begin, to become singular, to endure obloquy and persecution, before the tide of public opinion was changed, and the 'Alcoholic' trade was pronounced infamous. So must it be with slavery. Shallow pretences for the love of peace and unity in the churches; ideas of delicacy and difficulty in dealing with deacons, ministers and others; fears for political disturbances and riots and bloodshed, &c.—all this is nonsense.

Well, a goodly number have declared a war of extermination against American Slavery, and it only requires that men act individually, and there will be formed one overwhelming and all powerful phalanx, which shall make a strong pull, a long pull, and a pull altogether, and we will bring this iniquitous system to naught, and consign it to everlasting oblivion.  
I am, with best wishes and respects,  
Your sincere friend,  
JAMES MILLER.

THE LIBERATOR.  
OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.  
BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 1, 1846.  
ORCHARD, TEVIOTDALE, March 11, 1846.  
DEAR GARRISON:  
The following is from the minister of Abernethy—a town near the junction of the Earn with the Tay—said to have been founded in 456. The Celts once had a University here. It was the capital of the Pictish kingdom—now a pretty little village, about eight miles below Perth.  
ABERNETHY, Jan. 6, 1846.  
Dear brother in the common cause of Freedom:  
Thanks, hearty and unfeigned, for the pamphlet. I have read them, especially the one on the 'Dissolution of the American Union.' I must confess that till now, I was very ignorant of the condition of the United States, its internal government, and the basis of its confederacy. I had not conceived that such an amount of injustice was wrought in its Constitution—that each State was linked to another by blood and robbery, and maintained and defended by might and tyranny. And all this by churches and ministers calling themselves Christians!  
Did I believe that any state, system or government was placed beyond the influence of public opinion, or the vengeance of a just and an omniscient God, I could only regard your exertions as stark madness, more worthy of pity than contempt. But believing as I do, that the United States of America, strong and powerful though she be, fortified and entrenched by wealth, arms, prejudices and passions of bad men, and a time-serving priesthood, yet that government, these states, and their boasted confederacy, are as available and vulnerable. The progress of public opinion, the force of truth, the power of reason, and the omnipotence of religion, shall soon, by the blessing of God, break them asunder, and dash them in pieces.  
And the dismemberment of these States may be nearer than we think. America contains within her own bosom elements sufficient, at no distant hour, to accomplish her destruction—to do all, in short, that the friends of freedom could desire. Justice, right and truth are progressing. 'Great is the truth, and it shall prevail.' But because we see these signs of the times, and are certain of a successful issue to the great and glorious cause, the friends of liberty are by no means to slack their hands, or cease their efforts, but rather, by more united exertions, help to hasten their brethren's emancipation.  
Whether, then, your noble efforts be directed against the unholy union of those States, which under the name and guise of Liberty, trample upon her sacred rights and laws, or whether directed against the effects of that ungodly compact, in detail, may God prosper your philanthropic endeavors. The work is great and good. I am proud to have it in my power to say a word of encouragement to any one connected with the cause, and more especially to the able champion of the stolen man's rights.  
Should you ever visit this locality, I shall be happy if you would consider my house your home while you may remain. Excuse me for sending the enclosed contribution.  
My dear brother,  
Yours very faithfully,  
A. POLLOCK BLACK.  
KELSO, Tweeddale, March 14, 1846.

DEAR GARRISON:  
This is a sweet town, of 5000 inhabitants, on the left bank of the Tweed, near the entrance of the Teviot into it, 30 miles up the river from Berwick. At the South are the Cheviot hills—to the North West and West, the Eildon and Minto hills. Near by is Ednam, where Thomson, author of the 'Seasons,' was born. In Kelso are the remains of an old Abbey; built by the Saxons, 'a long, long ago,' where monks played off their tomfoolery in the shape of holy prayers, holy confessions, holy songs, holy bowings, holy kneelings, holy crossings, and all sorts of holy rites and forms; no more acceptable to Him who is a Spirit, than the shouts and dances around Moloch. A little above the town is Roxburgh Castle, where kings and queens, 700 years ago, played with kingdoms as boys do with marbles. There are lots of interesting places and things in and about Kelso; but I cannot mind them now. I had rather send the following extract from a letter, written by a dear, noble man, the friend of the people, and a minister, a son of the Rev. Dr. Carpenter, of Bristol, known and justly loved by thousands in this kingdom.  
STAMP, GREAT MARCHESTER, }  
January 16, 1846. }  
DEAR HENRY:  
A hungry man does not quarrel with a quarter of a pound of bread because it is not a loaf; and I was delighted to get even that little line. You ought not to be among those cold, bleak Grampians at this time of the year. You ought to be at my mother's, in the South, or down here with us. You speak from experience of the wearing life of an Apostle; and as you are now anything but an iron constitution, you have no right to throw away what strength you have yet remaining. Susan and I will be delighted to see you here any time, for as long or as short a time as you can.  
You ask my opinion of the AMERICAN UNION, in its relation to slavery, as developed in your Dissolution pamphlet. I must say, I was amazed when I read it, and thought of it. I was quite unprepared for the strength of pro-slavery influence in the Union. We, in this country, are accustomed to consider the United States a free government—more free than our own; but it appears that it is so formed as to perpetuate slavery. It seems grossly inconsistent, that, after fighting to throw off the yoke of wood, which England had fixed, they should turn round and rivet the yoke of iron on a large portion of their own population. If they had distinctly spoken of slaves, I should have had a higher idea of their consistency; but the evasive expressions you quote, seem to show that they knew they were doing wrong. Henceforth, I shall not think so highly of WASHINGTON, and the rest, whom we have been trained to admire as the patterns of Christian slaveholders.  
It is often said, both in England and America, that we English are nearly as bad, in consequence of our aristocratic influence, and the condition of our working population. But I never met an English laborer, however much oppressed, who wished to be an American slave. Cruel enough are they sometimes in England, but I believe English blood would always shudder at selling humanity like *horse-flesh*, and breeding their own sons and daughters for bondage. Yet these men are your governors, and Christians! Such a state of things makes republicanism a by-word and a scoff; and yet the Americans crow over us because of our aristocracy! We are bad enough; we deny the right of voting to the poor; but to add their votes (or three-fifths of them) to the masters, is a consummation of tyranny which I could hardly have



OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.  
BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 1, 1846.

believed. I am not politician enough to decide on the propriety of dissolving either the American or the British Union; but that the Free States are now trampled upon, and that the American Government, so far from being a model to the world, is really a tyrannical and humanity-crushing alliance, seems to me plain. It makes me shudder to see such fearful evils. Nothing but faith in Christianity could support me. But war and slavery are doomed. It is only the good that can live.  
This ever,  
H. C. WRIGHT.  
PHILIP P. CARPENTER.  
JEDBURGH, March 16, 1846.

DEAR GARRISON:  
This is a beautiful town, on the banks of the Jed—once the principal border town, now the country town of Roxburghshire, and having 7000 population. Eight hundred years ago, this town, with its magnificent Abbey, was the theatre of constant strife and blood in the border wars. It has been a gulf and a field of blood. It stands about two miles from the confluence of the Jed with the Teviot. But I wish to sketch the moments, while staying here, to transcribe the following letter, written by a man who spent three or four years all over England and Scotland, agitating the great question of Slavery, and who has acted no inconsiderable part in this movement, as well as in carrying the Reform Bill.  
ABERROATH, Jan. 2, 1846.  
DEAR FRIEND:  
I have read the pamphlet on the 'Dissolution of the American Union.' What a basis of representation and political Union! But the evil lies deep in the condition of American society. The ideas of the people must undergo a great change, before the slaves can be freed. In fact, the slave is held in bonds, in the name of religion, and it is painful to know that this is done by the professed followers of Christ. In England and in America, every oppression has the sanction of religious men. They do not openly justify such evils. No—they only sanction the crimes, and say, 'You cannot say, I did it.' There is little cause for surprise, then, that the leaders of the Free Church, in this country, give the right hand of fellowship to the slaveholding churches of America.  
If I am to judge of the Free Church by the conduct of its members and ministers in Aberroath, there can be only one opinion about their brotherhood, and that is, that it is not the spirit of Christ. They sympathize with men-stealers, give them the benefit of their prayers, such as they are, and refuse to acknowledge the Christian character of those who belong to the establishment in Scotland; the same confession of faith serving both.  
Your lectures here created no little stir. The first effect arising from them was, that some one, who could handle a painter's brush, painted upon the walls, in large letters, 'BUILT FROM THE BLOOD OF SLAVES.' This was done upon two of the Free Churches. The letters I saw with my own eyes, last Sunday.  
Since you left Aberroath, there has been a letter each week, in the Northern Warder, published in Dundee, from the Free Church and Dissenting Ministers, respectively, in which you are more or less referred to. It is now closed, in consequence of the correspondent of the Warder refusing to give up his name. The substance of their letters consisted in the Free Church party endeavoring to prove that Mr. S. gave his church to you, because of his bad feelings towards the Free Church; and that Mr. A. held up his hand for your second lecture. This, Mr. A. has solemnly denied; and the Free Church party has brought forward four members, one of them being an elder of their own church, to state that they sat in the same seat with Mr. A., and that he voted for your second lecture. Mr. A., or the four men, are placed in a most painful position.  
I hope your health is such as to enable you to carry forward your great mission, the redemption of the slave from the bondage of his brother man. May God sustain you in your labor of love and good will to the poor, despised black man.  
Adieu!  
ABRAHAM DUNCAN.  
H. C. WRIGHT.  
COLDSTREAM, Tweeddale, March 10, 1846.

DEAR GARRISON:  
This is a pretty town, of 3000 inhabitants, on the left bank of the Tweed, 10 miles below Kelso, and 10 above Berwick. Here Monk had his head quarters, and after forming the regiment, called the Coldstream Guards, marched them to England to fight Charles II. on the throne. This is a second Grampian Green, where the English run over the borders to get married. Opposite the river is England. Near this, on the banks of the river Till, was fought the battle of Flodden, Sept. 9, 1513, where 10,000 Scots and 6000 English lay out to pieces, dead, at sundown. Here I delivered two lectures on American slavery and the Free Church, in the Church of Rev. Dr. Thompson, who has been the means of destroying the monopoly of the Bible Society, compelling them to put down the price, so that a complete Bible may now be had, for 8 pence (16 cents). But I wish to send you the following, written by a stern, staunch advocate of freedom.  
PITCAIRIE HOUSE, Fifeshire, }  
February 4th, 1846. }  
MY DEAR SIR:  
I tender you my warmest thanks for removing my misapprehensions in reference to American slavery, by your pamphlet on the 'DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION,' and for giving me such a distinct view of that dark combination, that system of organized villainy, whose downfall every human being who has not contrived to dethrone the feelings of humanity, would rejoice to behold! American slaveholding! Methinks a parallel to it is only to be found in the government of the prince of darkness! Shocking spectacle! My brother berded with brutes! My blood chills when I read the dark details, and I can scarcely help but exclaim—Why does vengeance tarry so long? Arise, O Lord, and vindicate the American slaves! Awake, O sword of retribution, and fall with all thy might on the monsters in human form, who thus trample on humanity! Christianity utters a voice of thunder against the monstrous profanation of its sacred name, by those wretches whose hearts are allied to fiends.  
Sooner would I, as a Christian, fraternize with thieves, with robbers, with pirates or murderers, than with the authors of such deeds of darkness, which Satan himself might blush to own. Poor afflicted

sons of Africa! Would that I could console you, by assuring you that we, the sons of Britain, regard you as our brethren; yes, on a level with ourselves. Your tyrant masters, and not you, we regard as sunk below the brutes.  
All I meet with, who have seen that pamphlet, hold in utter detestation the horrible compact which you have so ably exposed, and feel indignant at the insult which the Free Church has offered to Christianity, by fostering in the minds of those savage slaveholders the belief, that there can be any union or sympathy between it and men who live by theft, robbery, and piracy; and whose protection is injustice, cruelty, and cold-blooded murder. Let those blood-stained tyrants tell us what concord Christ has with Belial, and then we will tell them what concord we have with them.  
From the bottom of my heart, I wish you God speed in your noble and warm-hearted exertions in behalf of African Slaves!  
I am yours, most sincerely,  
G. C. MORRISON.  
BERWICK, on the Tweed, }  
March 22, 1846. }

DEAR GARRISON:  
I am at last, for the first time, in Berwick, so renowned in Scottish and English history, in connexion with Wallace, Bruce, Edward, Northumberland, and Douglas, and many other of the butchers and tigers of mankind. It is a town of about 10,000 inhabitants, being a kind of neutral town, subject to England, but, like Nantucket, belonging to no State, having a government of its own, in many respects. It is a seaport, the only one of note between Newcastle and Leith. I am to lecture here on non-resistance and slavery four times. It is Sunday—the day that is called holy, and which religionists, whose religion is an observance, an institution, rather than a principle, consider, as they say, to God. Judging from their actions, they keep the day holy, in lieu of keeping themselves holy—they consecrate the day to God, rather than themselves. They substitute a holy day for a holy life—a holy observance for a holy heart—I am disgusted with this religion of holy days and churches, holy priests and elders, and slaveholding, war-making and toddy-drinking men and women. Christianity makes holy men and women—teetotal, anti-slavery and non-resisting men and women—and takes no note of holy days, holy houses, holy pulpits, holy bands and gowns and priesthood.  
Dear friend, I am just heart sick at what I see and hear around me! Such an everlasting rot made about holy church and governmental combinations, holy sacraments, holy times and places, holy performances and observances—and so little said about holy men and women. Like the Pharisees and Sadducees of old, they take care to keep the cups and platters holy, but are themselves often the personification of corruption. They degrade and pollute the max, but keep holy the Sabbath and the Church! If the efforts, now being made in Scotland and America to have men keep a day holy, were all expended to persuade them to keep their hearts holy from ambition, anger, revenge, lust and avarice, and their lives holy and pure from drunkenness, war and slavery, and to induce them to love as Jesus loved, to forgive as he forgave, and to make his righteousness their own, by imitating his spirit and life—the only way in which His righteousness can be of any use to them—then we might hope to see a glorious change come over our society, and the peaceful kingdom of God's dear Son dash in pieces all other kingdoms, and consume them forever. But I wish to spend a portion of this day in copying the following letter from H. C. WRIGHT. You and your readers may decide, whether I deprecate the day or myself by so spending it. My conscience tells me, I do not deprecate myself.

KINGSDOWN PARADE, BRISTOL, 1846.  
DEAR HENRY:  
I had obtained no particular information concerning the Evangelical Alliance, till the evening before I received your welcome scrap, with the letter to that body. It had occurred to me, what a fine opportunity to present the three millions of manacled, fettered, bleeding slaves, as plaintiffs against their oppressors, before such a body. Judge, then, how my soul bounded with thanksgiving to God, and love to the author of that precious document, while I perused, or rather ate up, its truth-telling pages!  
There is a glorious battle-field before us, where one must chase a thousand, and slay ten thousand to fight. Mr. C., our minister, is well pleased with the address. He thinks it will cause a division, as the Free Church have taken part with the men-stealers, but no doubt the Kirk and all the English Dissenters will go for a rejection of slaveholders.  
Well, I shall rejoice at any division, and overturning, that may issue in the rescue of my own flesh and blood, and kindred souls.  
It is a happy event that the Alliance is to be composed of individual Christians, not Societies. So that, should the pro-slavery part of the Free Church stand aloof, the others may unite, and no doubt will. We shall shortly have a meeting in Bristol, to assist in forming the Alliance. I have put the address in circulation. Send me twenty-five more, and I will send you stamps. I think all the Christians in Bristol will be true to the slave. Take care of yourself, your lungs, the night air, &c. You cannot leave England till after the Alliance Convention. Your wife and friends must spare you a little longer for the Lord's service in this land. I hope dear Garrison, Weld and Tappan will come over in June.  
Yours,  
H. C. HOWELLS.  
H. C. WRIGHT.  
MELBOURNE, March 28, 1846.

DEAR GARRISON:  
I cannot now tell you of my doings here, about Melrose Abbey, and other things connected with the sweet spot. I cannot now speak of the Eildon hills, and my visit to them, of the remains of an old Roman entrenchment on one, and of Abbotsford, and of my visit to it, on the Tweed, as it winds around the base of these hills. I cannot speak of Dryburgh Abbey, the burial place of Walter Scott, the Tory novelist, the despair of the people of my visit to it, and the glorious motto over the entrance—'NO AMERICAN TO BE ALLOWED TO ENTER HERE, IF HE IS A SLAVEHOLDER.' These I must leave, and copy a letter respecting the Free Church I received the other day at Kelso. The Free Kirk leaders, in their speeches and writings, have boasted there is the purest church in the world. If so, what must the others be? You may be sure that the following may be taken as a specimen of their churches generally, as I have been assured often by their own members. No wonder Doctor Cunningham, declares of churches, composed of men-stealers, that 'their rolls of membership would present as large a proportion of converted persons as that of the Evangelical (Free) Churches of Scotland.' And such combinations of men are called churches of Christ! I believe one of the first steps towards membership in Christ's church is, escape from these war-making, slave-breeding, slaveholding, toddy-drinking sectarian organizations. They are 'synagogues of Satan.' But read the following letter.

Hawick, March 4th, 1846.  
SIR:  
I perceive that your lectures on American Slavery, and the question you ask—Is it right to hold Christian fellowship with slaveholders, in order to get their money to build our churches and pay our ministers? have excited the bitterest opposition of many of the leaders of the Free Church; and I have little doubt that many, in distant parts of the world, will be astonished after having heard so much about their 'glorious marching out of the land of Egypt,' (the Established Church), and out of the house of bondage, that they should give the right hand of fellowship to such men, and thereby throw the shield of their protection over them, to whitewash them from their foul enmities; but they who live among the *Nones*, (as the *Presbys* are called), who know their practices in reference to their fellowship at home, will never dream of being astonished at their receiving into their fellowship, those blood-stained monsters who traffic in the blood, and sinews and souls of our fellow-men. In support of this, allow me to state two cases, in proof of their brotherhood at home; and if they are so easily pleased with their own members here, surely they cannot be expected to be so very particular as to their dear brethren, the slaveholders of America.  
A—W., a man who had been in business for himself, but who had failed in consequence of drunkenness, and who has lived here for many years as a public nuisance, a drunken, swearing, ill-natured man, who appears to act on Ishmael's principle, of having his hand against every man, and who, in consequence, may often be seen in the streets, followed by a very few boys annoying him, and calling him names, and he in return cursing and swearing, and outraging all decency by his obscene blasphemous and disgusting outcries—well, this man was a member of the Established Church before the disruption, and for his bad conduct was suspended from church privileges by Mr. Wallace, the then minister of the Kirk; but as soon as the 'house of bondage' was left by Mr. Wallace and his followers, this man had a token of admission to the Lord's table forced upon him, by the same men who had formerly excluded him, and I believe is still in full communion with the Free Church, although his open profanity and drunkenness must be well known to every *Non* in the place.  
The other case is that of A—R., a man who for many years has been a confirmed and hopeless drunkard, but who, through the instrumentality of teetotalism, was lifted up out of the deep degradation into which he had sunk; and after having remained firm to his pledge for a long time, I thought to magnify the principle of total abstinence, as he was a good tradesman, by setting him up in business for himself, so that he might show to the world, by his success in trade, that no man need despair, however prostrated by this demon alcohol, if he will only stick like a burr to teetotalism. After this, he joined the Free Church, and got on prosperously for a time. Alas! influenced by the tipping habits of his minister, Mr. Wallace, and the elders and church members, he tasted the free water, and fell prostrate before the fiend. The teetotallers again rescued him from the drunkenness into which the Rev. Mr. Wallace and his elders and church had plunged him, surrounded him with teetotal influences to shield him against the influence of a tipping church and ministry, and got him to sign the pledge; but he never could again withstand his craving appetite for drink, and the tipping influence of his minister and church; and after alternately joining the society and breaking his pledge, and taking in all who had any business transactions with him, he shared the fate of all drunkards, and became a bankrupt. In a penitential mode, he came to me one day, his 'cleansed, and credit gone,' and confessed his errors, and for the fifth time promised amendment; and would again join the teetotallers, as soon as he was better of a disease, the consequence of his conduct. In this condition, the very personification of impiety and wickedness, in answer to a question that I put to him, he said, that neither Mr. Wallace, his (Free) minister, nor any elder of his church, had ever remonstrated with him about his notorious excesses. During the conversation, I told him that I was hearing Mr. McCree, the parish minister, preach on Sabbath last, for the first time; when this brutalized debauchee—this unrepentant member of the Free Church, seemed perfectly horrified, and declared that he had sunk very low in his own estimation; but he was not so degraded yet as to go and hear a sermon at the parish church!  
Now, sir, you see with whom they hold fellowship at home, and I could mention many more similar cases; and if they will give the right hand of fellowship to drunkards, fornicators, and blasphemers here, why should they not, FOR THE PRICE OF IT, give the right hand of fellowship to fornicators, man-stealers, and murderers, in America?  
I remain, dear sir, yours most sincerely,  
ROBERT MICHIE.  
H. C. WRIGHT.

R. M. is a well known teetotaler, and member of the Independent Church. I wish to call attention to the fact, that in Scotland and England, the most dangerous position in which a reformed drunkard could place himself in society, is in the church. There is no place in which a reformed drunkard is so irresistibly tempted to return to his wallowing in the filth of drunkenness, as in joining a church, to become an elder or a deacon, and to associate with ministers. He would be more likely to become a drunkard in Dr. Wardlaw's or Dr. Chalmers' church, and at their dinner tables, than in the lowest grog shop in Glasgow or Edinburgh—for the simple reason, that at the dinner and communion tables of Doctors CHALMER and WARDLAW, the tipping custom is adorned with the charms of social elegance and respectability, and sanctified by prayer! while in the low grog shop, it is accompanied with all its disgusting filth and obscenity. These *Reverend Doctors of Divinity* do more to make drunkards, and to prevent their reformation when made, by giving a respectable, pious, praying tone to tipping customs, than a hundred low whiskey-dealers and gutter-drunkards could do. These customs are dangerous in proportion as they are more respectable.

All men are born free and equal—with certain natural, essential and unalienable rights—which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.  
Three millions of the American people are in chains and slavery—held as chattels personal, and bought and sold as marketable commodities.  
Seventy thousand infants, the offspring of slave parents, kidnapped as soon as born, and permanently added to the slave population of Christian, (1) Republican, (2) Democratic (3) American every year.  
Immediate, Unconditional Emancipation!  
Slaveholders, Slave-traders and Slave-driver are to be placed on the same level of infamy, and in the same fiendish category, as kidnappers and men-stealers—a race of monsters unparalleled in their assumption of power, and their despotic cruelty.  
The existing Constitution of the United States is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.  
NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

J. BROWN VERRINTON, PRINTER.  
WHOLE NO. 799.



Another thing to which I would call attention. It is a very common thing, in this country, for the churches to undo the work of teetotalism. Teetotalers rescue a poor sinner from his fifth and degradation, and surround him with hallowed and saving influences, and bring love and comfort and light to a broken-hearted wife and starving children. The reformed inebriate joins a church—tips at the communion—sees his brethren and sisters, his elders, deacons and minister, tipple their wine and toddy, accompanied with prayer and social elegance. He drinks—becomes a brutal drunkard—loses affection for wife and children, and sinks to the lowest depths of pollution and social infamy, under the direct influence of the church, the elders, ministers, and Doctors of Divinity. This I have seen and known in Scotland. More. After the church has converted the teetotaler into a drunkard, the elders and minister who made him what he is, turn him out of the church, and then the teetotalers step in again, and save him, and cause the sinner of love, peace and plenty once more to visit his family; and they can save him, so long as they can keep him out of the churches, and away from the communion, and from the influence of the tipping elders and ministers. This I have often seen and known.

Now, which are doing most to accomplish the mission of Christianity, and to make Christ practically the Lamb of God, to take away the sin of the world—the TOTAL ABSTINENCE SOCIETIES, or the tipping, sectarian church organizations of Scotland, with all their imposing array of baptisms, communions, Sabbath, solemn assemblies, prayers, singing, priests, bands and gowns? In America, which are doing most to make Christ a practical propitiator for sinners, the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES—who are consecrating reputation, property and life to rescue slaveholders and their imbruted victims from that "sum of all villainies," American Slavery—or, the slaveholding churches, deacons, elders, and ministers, with all their prayers, and preachings, and observances? Who are doing most to make the gospel "the power of God and wisdom of God—to save the world—to make Christ a practical Redeemer—and to save men from sin by 'His righteousness'—the Non-Resistants, who are seeking to root out the murderous principle and practice of war—to induce men to beat up their swords, and learn war no more—to put away all anger, wrath and revenge—and to love as Jesus loved, and to forgive as he forgave—or those war-making ministers, elders and churches, who hang, shoot and stab men, women and children, and give God thanks? Who can doubt? I do not. There is more of the church of Christ in Total Abstinence, Anti-Slavery, Non-Resistance, Peace, Anti-War, Free Trade, and Free Suffrage Societies, than in any sectarian, war-making, slaveholding, tipping, monopolizing church organization on earth—they Baptist, Methodist, Unitarian, Presbyterian, Universalist, Congregationalist, Mahometan, Episcopalian, or Catholic, or any other. These churches have no power to reform themselves or the world. We are obliged to go out of these bodies, into what they term the world, for help to purify them of drunkenness, theft, robbery, concubinage, and murder—to purge them of slavery, war, and blasphemy. We must go to what is called the unconverted, for help to persuade the converted to cease to fill the earth with drunkards; to the unregenerate and untaught, for help to persuade the regenerate and sanctified ones to cease from slave-breeding, slave-driving and slave-trading; to the irreligious, the prayerless and ungodly, for help to induce the religious, the praying and godly, to cease from theft and robbery; and to those who are called INFIDELS, for help to get those who are called CHRISTIANS to cease from cool, deliberate, systematic murder!

I am a Christian, dear Garrison, and every day but increases my confidence in Christ, as the power and wisdom of God to save the world. I fraternize with those, only, as Christians, who are working to save men by the righteousness of Christ, by seeking to make them righteous as He was righteous; and who are seeking, as teetotalers, as abolitionists, as non-resistants, free-traders, and moral reformers of individuals and nations, to make 'Christ the Lamb of God to take away the sin of the world'—by devoting their all to reclaim men from their sins. I care not for church or governmental organizations, or any human institution. Let them all perish, when they stand in the way of man's redemption. I care not for observances of times and places. I would have Christ a principle of action within us—I would have 'his mind'—I would 'put on Christ.' So that for me to live, should be to live in Christ. In no other way can He be of any saving power to mankind.

Thine, HENRY C. WRIGHT.

GALASHIELS, March 30, 1846.

DEAR GARRISON: From the following letter, touching a Soiree in Dundee, you will see how things go on here in reference to anti-slavery agitation.

DUNDEE, March 7, 1846.

DEAR FRIEND: I wish to let you know how we stand in reference to matters here. In the first place, the Soiree is got up in honor of Messrs. Douglass, Wright and Buffum, and the tickets are selling so fast, that we have every prospect that the house will be crowded to excess. Should it be known that you were not to be present, we are sure it would cast a damp over the prospect of the whole. This you will the more perceive to be the case, when I inform you that we have a letter from Dr. Ritchie, of Edinburgh, to-day, saying that it will not be in his power to attend.

Now what are we to do? Are we to allow our friends of the Free Church to report our meeting in the *Warder* as a failure? I trust not, and to prevent this, allow me to say, that you must come. You see we cannot do without you. The seed has been sown here; friends to our cause in the Free Church are telling us—'just keep at us—push us on—we need all the assistance you can give us—we have all the prejudices of our Church (the Free) to contend with; so, unless you push us on, we shall not be able to contend so effectually.' Such is the language of some of those who are moving in the Free Church. Such is the language of some of the active movers among them to myself.

Now that we may give these men a second strong hand of help, to push them on, and also to illumine the active members of the Free Church who do wish more light upon this subject, after the dust that has been thrown into their eyes by their leaders; to counteract their influence, do come that the meeting may be effective in dispelling doubt, in giving light, in strengthening weak hands, in giving a strong impulse to right against wrong.

You may not be aware, that one of the Free Church Sessions is split upon this question, and it was only carried against sending back the money by the casting vote of the Moderator,—Rev. Mr. Burns, and to hush up the matter until the next Assembly. This minority have not consented to do; only they have agreed not to act till after the Lord's supper is dispensed next month. And they will not remain in the communion, unless the Free Church repudiates the connexion with slaveholders.

Thus the matter has taken root here. All we now want is, another good meeting to keep this matter fully before the Free Church and the public. We have gone into the thing, and we cannot think of your absenting yourself on any account. If you have another meeting in Hawick, we will pay your expenses back again, and we will pay them to this. Do not disappoint us. We expect a great meeting, and a good many Free Church people, and we will get a good report in the papers. Bring a great many of your pamphlets, for we require them here for distribution among all parties. May we see you at Dundee on Tuesday, is the earnest wish of the Committee.

Yours, WM. HALLKET.

I send the above, solely to let you see how the people feel in Dundee. It is the same in most of the principal towns. I did not attend—had an engagement in Teviotdale—besides, was sadly afflicted then with hoarseness and soreness of lungs, of which I am now better. They had a glorious meeting, concerning which, James and Frederick will inform you, and you will see by the papers which I presume they will send. I had no fear of its being a failure, and it was not.

I copy the following, to let you see the spirit with which I have contended the last fourteen months. It was handed to me as I entered the meeting in Berwick, in which I was to review the Free Church, and there was a great excitement in the town.

Berwick, March 25, 1846.

DEAR SIR: Last night, as I left Rev. Mr. Pedem's church, where you lectured, I bought one of your tracts. At the 45th page, you speak of the Delegates of the Free Church going to America, and receiving money as a reward for admitting slaveholders to be members of said church. I will content myself with saying, that any one who has common sense, and has taken an impartial view of the affair, must pronounce it false. Admitting the Free Church to be wrong in taking this money, you are as bad as they, and I'll show you how. I rather think you had a white shirt on last night—cotton. Who was it that tolled for the material of that shirt? Slaves! If I were you, I would either hold my tongue about the Free Church, or never wear a cotton shirt. Do you take sugar in your tea? If you do, you drink the slave's blood, by your own account. Who tolled for that sugar? Not slaves, of course! No! No!! Are you not afraid the sugar poisons you? Recollect, I am not defending slavery—I condemn it as heartily as you do. But look at home, before you condemn abroad. What business have you with the Free Church? Mind your own affairs, and let the Free Church mind theirs. You have come to Berwick, and all you have done is to sow discord among the people.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

WM. M. L.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

This is the last strong hold, the citadel into which the Free Church leaders have fled. The answer to this is—To get the slave-grown cotton and sugar, we do not agree to fellowship slaveholders as Christians, and to help cast the damning guilt of slaveholding from them upon the system or institution of slavery. I have raised the cry—Send back that money—solely because the leaders, Chalmers, Cunningham and Candlish declare, if they give up the fellowship, that they must give up the dollars, and that they cannot give up the fellowship while the money is in their coffers.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

LETTER FROM JAMES N. BUFFUM.

BOWLING BAR, (near Glasgow),

March 31, 1846.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

As friend Douglass is not to write you by this steamer, I thought I would say a word as to what we are doing, and let you know that we are at work, and that the cause of humanity is still under in Scotland. I have held meetings in the west of Scotland—nearly three months. During that time, we have held large and enthusiastic meetings in Perth, Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, and Aberdeen, in the North, which have created a great sensation. Many of our meetings have been crowded almost to suffocation, although we have had the largest places that could be procured. The most commodious churches have been opened, and the ministers came out to aid the cause onward. All seem to take the deepest interest, with the exception of the Free Church. They have gone to the slaveholders, and taken the fruit of the toil of the unpaid bondman, and now have declared, as the price, that not to fellowship slaveholders as Christians would be very unjustifiable. But this declaration is only from the leaders in the church. The members of that church have no fellowship with this act, and they are becoming more and more dissatisfied, and will yet speak out in tones not to be disregarded by even the leaders.

We have held meetings in the west of Scotland—the towns of Ayr, Kilmarlock and Paisley, which have been the most satisfactory to us and the people. We have now commenced a series of meetings in the Vale of Leven, the place from which, as you will recollect, we had that thrilling remonstrance against our slave system in 1837, when it was unrolled in our annual meeting, caused such a thrill of joy to pass through all present. The people are still the same warm-hearted friends of the cause they were in 1837. They will again remonstrate in more earnest tones.

You can hardly understand what a deep abhorrence the people have here for American slaveholding. Coupled as it is with such high-sounding professions of liberty, it becomes ugly by the contrast.

We are soon to be joined in a series of meetings in Glasgow and Edinburgh, by our true-hearted and eloquent friend, GEORGE THOMSON. The people are being aroused. Friend Douglass has caused a great sensation. When he stands up before an audience in this country, and tells the story of his prison-house, they see before them a man so noble in figure, so eloquent in speech, informing them, in his own powerful manner, that he has been a slave twenty-one years of his life, and that he would be liable, if he stepped on American soil, to be hurled back into interminable bondage, and that, too, in accordance with the Constitution of the United States—when he tells them that there are three millions such as himself in bondage the most cruel, for whom Christ died, and among them he has four sisters and one brother; when he tells them that the laws which bind them in their chains are framed and supported by men calling themselves Christians, and who profess to believe in that Saviour who came to preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound—then it is that the horrid character of slavery is so revealed, that they see it in its true light, and they start back with dismay at the depravity of a nation, that can be so lost to every feeling of humanity.

I cannot but blush for my country; and I could not hold up my head in Scotland, were it not that I am doing something to wipe away this stain. I would say more, but I must close. I will write you again in a few days. We are to have two steamers the month, and you will hear from us often thereafter. I am writing this at the house of our excellent friend JOHN MURRAY, who is to go to-night with us to a meeting at Bonhill, and it is now almost time to leave.

I am, with much love, yours in the cause,

JAMES N. BUFFUM.

(From our London Correspondent.)

LONDON, 137 Cheapside.

DEAR SIR:

This day, March 3, we have just received a packet, which conveys to this country the news that the President of the United States has declined to refer the Oregon question, and the aspect as between the two countries looks more warlike in consequence. All friends of peace here—and they are a very large majority—regret this very much; for we had hoped that the news—the good news to the world, we think it—that our minister had determined upon repelling the Corn Laws, and reducing the customs duties so greatly would have produced a very opposite result in America.

It is probable, however, that this movement on the part of President Polk, is the result of views formed, when other dispositions on the part of the English Government were prevalent.

If the people in Great Britain had the power of choosing their own members of Parliament, (seven-

eighties are without the suffrage, there would be no war, for the supplies would not be voted.

The American people will yet see the folly, and the wickedness of war, upon such a question as this. I speak of the people as distinct from their governments.

As it regards this country and its interests, it would be an objectless war; it would be a total prostration of life and treasure, for a purpose useless to realize.

Colonization has been a burden to the English people. Colonies are used by our aristocracy as means of patronage, and have invariably cost more than they have benefited us as a nation. Colonies are of no value, except as customers. Nations, supported by natural resources, are only of value to each other, in proportion as they supply the wants of the other. It is in exchanging their labor and property—that is to say, by commerce—that they benefit each other; but we have never used colonies. We treat them as dependants, prohibit their commerce with other nations, insist upon their quarrelling when we quarrel; and by this protectionist policy, we certainly do not to dependant upon us. Dependence is a very costly to the protector. By forcing them into our wars, we make them participant of the losses and miseries which war necessarily involves, and give to ourselves a larger supply to protect. They offer to our enemies a point of attack and destruction, which the protector must assist to restore. Thus, as a nation, the United States is a burden to each other, in proportion as they supply the wants of the other. It is in exchanging their labor and property—that is to say, by commerce—that they benefit each other; but we have never used colonies. We treat them as dependants, prohibit their commerce with other nations, insist upon their quarrelling when we quarrel; and by this protectionist policy, we certainly do not to dependant upon us. Dependence is a very costly to the protector. By forcing them into our wars, we make them participant of the losses and miseries which war necessarily involves, and give to ourselves a larger supply to protect. They offer to our enemies a point of attack and destruction, which the protector must assist to restore. Thus, as a nation, the United States is a burden to each other, in proportion as they supply the wants of the other. 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